4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

(English Translation)

593
585
539
533

"For ten months I kept thee in my womb,
For twelve I had thee on my waist,
How can I keep thee now ? Oh, my daughter,
The house is up to the door full of people.

(*Chorus*)

For ten months I kept thee in my womb,
For twelve I had thee on my waist,
How can I keep thee now ? Oh, my daughter,
How can thou part with mother's affection.

Oh mother, for pity's sake do not leave me.
How can I leave thee ?
Get up my daughter and begone.
On the Tilayaka place stands the rich man's
horse saddled and bridled,
Oh my darling mother, how can I leave thee ?
My father has received a handful of rupees
and a long horned bull
Mymother has got a striped dress
The handful of rupees is spent, the striped
dress of my mother is worn out
The tall-horned bull died in the bathing place
My head is marked repeatedly with the red paint
I am signed for ever and ever"

683
593
159

I now cite an incident in which it can be seen how the father is attached to his sons and daughters—for the son's sake the father murdered his own mother and mother's sister.

It was alleged that Malta lost a son and a daughter who died of fever some time before the murder. Suspecting that his mother was a witch and

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

683
593
159

was killing his children with her baleful influence, he convened a panchayat of the village elders and accused his mother of witchcraft. A quarrel in the family followed, when his mother left his protection and went to her sister's residence in the same village. A few days later Malta went to the residence of his maternal aunt for the treatment of his sick child by her husband Juno, who was a doctor amongst the Santals and stayed there for a few days. On the night of occurrence Malta who had fever slept in the same room with his mother, his aunt, his son and the other inmates. But at about midnight Juno, the village doctor was roused from his sleep by certain sounds and he noticed that Malta was standing with a pickaxe in his hand near the bed where his mother and aunt slept. The two women were lying senseless on the bed with bleeding wounds on their heads.[1]

593
607

The relation between the elder brother and the younger brother amongst the Santals is very interesting. The elder brother, specially the eldest one, is looked upon as the representative of the father and after his death is the head and governor of the family. For this reason there are in fact some Santals who look upon the wife of the eldest brother as equal to their mother and pay her respect accordingly. Again the elder brother cannot call by name the wife of his younger brother. (This was verified whenever I asked for the genealogical table of the Santals. I noticed that in every case the elder cannot take the name of his younger brother's wife; he asked others to tell her name). The Bakat bahu

1. Amrita Bazar Patrika, 18th May, 1933.

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

The organization which binds groups of villages together is loose by comparison with the village system. The Santals distinguish between the various sections of the country in which their villages are situated, calling them *parganas*. Each *pargana* has a distinctive name, which may be either the name of a village situated within its borders or a general name. Over each of the *parganas* a *parganath* is supposed to have jurisdiction. McAlpin's report, the result of an inquiry instituted by the Bengal Government which led to the Tenancy Amendment Act of 1918, in addition to its main purpose of suggesting measures for the protection of Santal lands, dealt also with the condition of the Santal village system. McAlpin reported that the *pargana* system was far gone in decay, and it is not possible to question his conclusion. Binu Hāsdāk' of Tantidanga, late *parganath* of the Sarenga area, was typical of his class. His mind was well stored with the customary law of the tribe, and from time to time he was called in by nearby villages to help more particularly with disputes arising out of marriage tangles. He was personally popular and had some prestige as the possessor of valuable remedies against sickness, but on his own confession his authority was of a very limited kind. "What can I do", he once said, "unless the people of the village are agreed?" There is the crux of the situation; in the village, public opinion is a well-nigh irresistible force. Binu used, nevertheless, to go happily about his errands, for among other advantages which accrued he received a fee amounting to one rupee four annas when a guilty party was fined.

Kinship ties share with the well-knit village system the governance of the Santal's daily life, regulating his relationships with his fellows. The tribe is divided into clans, and each clan is again divided into sub-clans. The clan descends through the father, and when girls marry they are taken into the clans of their husbands. The clans have a totemistic basis and they are exogamous. Land is conceived of as belonging to the clan. Although individual and family ownership is now the rule, Santals will not countenance the transfer of land from one clan to another. The one exception for which allowance is made has been forced on them by economic necessity; it occurs in the case of a man without sons who brings his daughter's husband into his own house to carry on the cultivation, the son-in-law thereby acquiring rights in the property for descendants. The rights conferred by Hindu personal law on daughters in the property of their fathers or on wives in the property of their

5i Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

approval of much in the Christian message is perhaps due to the fact that Santal society is not sufficiently aware of danger. In the area, very few conversions of village officials have taken place. During the first decade of the present century a *parganath* with his family became Christian, and the reports of the time speak of hoping that his example would be followed by many others. In fact the Church has made practically no progress in that *pargana* since; a brother of the convert became *parganath* in his place. In a more recent example which occured in 1940 in the Midnapore district, a baptized *parganath* retained his office, but his example in becoming Christian was not followed. The only cases of village headman and village priest accepting Baptism have occurred in one village where the mission had become landlord. The large majority of converts have come from the rank and file of Santal society.

Individual religious experience plays a comparatively insignificant part in the first approach of the Santal to the Christian faith, though it is a strong motive in isolated cases. Dosoroth Hāsdāk', baptized in 1916 at about the age of thirty-five, was such a case. During the years when the mission was in its infancy he was growing up in a small village eighteen miles from Sarenga. He was sent to a village school by his father, and his first knowledge of Christianity was gained when he sat for the final examination, and this knowledge supplied him with a faith at a later crisis in his life to take the place of his former belief in the spirits. Here are his own words: "From that time (when he had gone to sit for an examination) I used to question in my mind the customs of the Santals. For a long time I went on drinking and dancing and I used to reverence the spirits in tree stumps, stones and trees, but all the time with growing dissatisfaction. As my sins increased, the Heavenly Father led me into more and more temptation and trouble. Two boys and two girls died at childbirth, and believing only in the spirits I ran to all the *ojhas* round about, but none could do anything. Then my wife and I talked together and decided that as the spirits had never been able to do anything we would no longer heed them but depend on God alone. So we tried to learn more about Him, and after awhile we heard of the mission at Sarenga. I went there a few times and got understanding; then I was baptized when Spencer Sahib paid his first visit to Samadi. From that time, believing in the One God and by His mercy, all my children and all of us have remained well."[1] Dosoroth died in 1940, being

[1] Quoted from a MS. in my possession written by Dosoroth at my request.

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

bitten by a snake as he slept on his verandah one night. He did not rouse until it was too late to apply any effective remedy. His relatives who were present subsequently told a story of sublime self-command and faith. He bade them farewell: "Do not be concerned about me, but always believe in God; although my body is being destroyed, my spirit cannot be destroyed. And follow the example of my brothers and myself, who never had a quarrel." He read to them from his New Testament. In the words of a nephew who wrote me a letter shortly afterwards: "Many people came from round about when they heard of his death to show their grief. My uncle preached the name of Jesus right up to the time of his death."

Dosoroth ascribed his freedom from the molestation of spirits to his belief in the One God. The heathen Santal considers that the process of transferring allegiance from one to the other is fraught with grave dangers. Christians put themselves beyond the pale of the tribe and so they do on the whole escape from the attention of the malevolent powers to whom Santals as a whole are subject, but when a recent convert meets with misfortune it is because the spirits have been able to get at him. A young man in Barikul died from typhoid about six months after his Baptism, and the common verdict was that the *bongas* had taken their revenge.

Many of the early converts were first drawn to the Church in order to gain some freedom from oppression. From time to time examples occur of people who wish to escape trouble which they have reason to fear from their own people. Families have been baptized when the mother has been accused of witchcraft and they have been persecuted accordingly. In the early period a family became Christian through the man having married a cousin. Although cross cousin marriages are not entirely prohibited, they are frowned upon as they serve to complicate relationships. This couple were subjected to local persecution, and at one stage, I am told, they feasted their fellow villagers in an effort to be reinstated in society. Ultimately, however, they sought the refuge of the Christian community. Their home was within two miles of Sarenga and so they were near to other Christians. Others sought relief from harassing landlords and their agents. They thought that the right way to deserve the help of the missionaries was to do first what the missionaries asked them to do in matters of religion. For although missionaries did relieve much distress, they proclaimed that what they really wanted to see was a change of heart in the people. There